

NOTE

- [28] Where I have used abbreviations for kinship terms I have
 [60] followed the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute convention:

M = mother	B = brother	H = husband
F = father	Z = sister	W = wife
D = daughter	S = son	G = sibling

Other symbols are built up on these, so that 'father's sister' is FZ and 'mother's father's sister's son's daughter's husband's brother' is MFZMHB. Seniority is indicated by a plus or minus, so that 'older brother' is + B and 'younger brother' is - B. I have used the combination XC to stand for 'cross cousin'.

NOTES ON SOME THINGS OF INTEREST IN CENTRAL AFRICA.

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(New Paper K271, K272)

With reference to what follows, I deal with the inhabitants of the southern end of Lake Nyasa, more especially those near Fort Johnston.

The people is very mixed, the original inhabitants, "Aparika," belonging to the Nyasa stock, one of the many branches of the Bantu, were many times overcome by invading waves from the east, Amangwila, Agwa (Tali), Wadings, Marungu, and their territory at this point was also seized from the other side by the Agwa. Though the Wadings may be said to have settled here and to be the ruling spirit, the people are more Aparika than anything else, and their customs, etc., though differing by being those of a conquered race, yet have survived in great part. These people are often called the Nyasa, only meaning the dwellers near the lake, but it is a good collective name now.

As far as possible these notes refer to Aparika and their customs, and related matter and the elements have been eliminated; for this reason they will be found to differ in some ways from accounts given by others.

All the average natives are very fit; their physique is very light; given regular work and food, conditions such as exist in some of the best, the Wadings turn out very fine muscular men. A man will carry between fifty and sixty pounds of weight on one day, or a number of days in succession carrying half that distance per day. A man will carry 10 to 15 miles in twenty-four hours. He can travel the whole day without food, and would do three or four days' march without without food provided he had water to drink.

Susceptibility to pain is considerably less than in the Europeans, i.e., the native can stand pain well if he be not afraid (e.g., removal of ulcers, eye without anaesthetics, extraction of teeth, etc.), the pain seems sometimes to be deferred, i.e., in case of such extraction appears to be perceptible a while after the actual operation. An inflammatory condition seems to move from intense agony, so that I would say they do not feel pain so acutely, but they do not bear it so well as a European.

I would make another comment, in fighting against disease a native will often go under from sheer apathy, whereas the white man keeps going by his nervous energy. I have seen the disease in the case of a carrier who went through an

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(12) based on people's memories and remembered by most of the people. Thus it was difficult to find a useful reference date between 1930 and 1940. It might be thought that the death of King George V would be memorable. However, though all who were old enough at the time could remember the whitefishers, only a few could remember the death of King George.

(12.5) This obvious demerit was filled in by events of more local significance. For example, Kawinga's brick house was built in 1930, the present Nyasid succeeded in 1935, &c. In addition, in particular hamlets there were men who had been in the Army, or had been to work in South Africa or Southern Rhodesia. Usually they could recall the date of going and sometimes of return, though they may have lost count of the intervening years. Such dates were often useful points. A small minority had actually recorded the dates of birth and death of children.

(12.5) In addition to this, it was possible to fix the ages of the young children by reference to harvests, since the Yao reckon two years in succession, 'last year' meaning before the last harvest and 'the year before last' meaning the period before the harvest before last. Before the year before last, all time is merely *kale kale*, the only indication of the period being the pitch of the voice in which it is said or the presence or absence of an exclamatory 'E!' before speaking.

(12.5) Particular care was taken to secure the ages of women and the dates at which they had borne children. There was, as mentioned above, some reliance in confirming the names of dead children, but this was usually not successfully by questioning the women's male relatives who were generally more communicative on these points.

(12.5) In spite of the care taken to obtain this information, it was impossible to fix the ages of all women in the sample, and they have been excluded from the major part of the analysis. In addition, there were thirty-nine men who were not available for questioning. These were all adults, the husbands of women in the hamlets. The

(12.5) Yao are married and married, and men tend to spend much of their time away from the hamlet of their relatives-in-law. Since they are in many ways strangers in the hamlet no information could be obtained about them.

A. THE GENERAL BACKGROUND TO FERTILITY

(12.5) All the hamlets visited were occupied by members of the Yao tribe. The Yao are an ill-defined people who achieved the questionable distinction of being efficient slave raiders at the end of the nineteenth century. They are a mountain and predominantly mountain people living in hamlets of from about 5 to 100 huts or more.

Table 1. Age of Women at First Marriage

(12.5)

	Age of women at first marriage											
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	
Number of women	1	4	1	10	8	8	7	5	11	11	11	11
Percentage	1	4	1	10	8	8	7	5	11	11	11	11
Total	1	14	12	10	16	16	14	11	11	11	11	11

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177 believe that she will die. The man's representatives are therefore able to establish the child's paternity from the birth-pang confessions of the women.

876 The child is kept in the hut where it was born, for six or seven days, while the umbilical cord dries and falls off. During this time (half) the child is unsexed, and it is named only when it is taken out of the hut. Should it die during this period of isolation it remains unsexed and is referred to by a special term (*siya*, pl. *siyap*).

878 I have therefore been able to measure live births by means of the distinction made between miscarriages and still-births (*tsungu*) and children who lived long enough to be referred to as *siyap*. After the birth of the child the woman may not have intercourse for four or five months. To do so would be to endanger the life of the child with a disease called *akaka*, which is contracted by a sexually inactive person when he comes into contact with a sexually active person. The husband may have intercourse with a sexual wife, but must take care to medicate himself so that he does not endanger the life of his child. When the child is about 4 or 5 months of age the parents perform ritual intercourse and medicate the child against the mystical dangers of sexual activity; sexual relations are then resumed.

876 The Yao say that a second child should not be born while the first is still being suckled. Since lactation continues for about two years I am uncertain whether menstruation remains constant, as they say they do, or whether *siya* interrupts it. It is quite usual for husbands to become labor migrants when their children are still very young. I have known women to write to their husbands who are away working and tell them to return because their children have 'grown', i.e. have been weaned. Labor migrants had difficulty in recruiting men immediately after the conflict had been demobilized at the end of the war, because the women objected, saying that they had weaned children long enough and the men must first wait until children were born. However, actual examination of birth data shows that children are sometimes born within a year of one another and sometimes there are quite big gaps. The two-year gap between children is probably an ideal which few attain.

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2. THE ESTIMATION OF FERTILITY

(a) Sandberg's Age Division

128 As a preliminary estimate of fertility, Sandberg's tripartite division of age may be considered. The argument behind this division of the population into Youth, Middle Age, and Old Age is that these populations with a high proportion of youth have a greater tendency to increase. Table V shows this tripartite division for the Yao with the same material for some other populations shown for comparison. When the gray reproduction rate is known for the period shown in the table, this is included.

128 At any one time a certain proportion of the population is shown from the age, usually at some labor count. Hence the proportions of the population are distributed differently. It is all then supposed to be a total of sixty-three men, women, and children chosen from the hamlets, who would otherwise have been living there. Hence in Table V there have been included in the totals in the 'Yao with aboriginal proportions'.

128 A share of this was believed to be many Central African tribes. Among the Nguni-speaking people it is known as *siya*.

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Table V shows that the age distribution for the Yanomama is very similar to world (23) and other populations commonly held to have high birth rates. There appears to be (24) some correlation between the proportion of youth in a population and the gross (25)

Topic V. *Anthony's Age Discrepancy*

CAA	00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99
00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	

* The use of a single drug agent was not tested. This was studied and was found to be ineffective in the treatment of the disease.

† All data for other populations were from The College of William & Mary (College) studies.

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reproduction rate. Judging from the survival presented in Table V a high grass reproduction rate may be expected among the *Y*es when the proportion of youth is much higher than in the case of those where grass reproduction rates are expected

(4) *The Properties of Children under 1 in France 17-98*

Family may be judged more accurately than by this criterion by considering the proportion of children under 5 to the total number of women between the ages of 15 to 49, i.e. the fertility ratio.¹ In the whole sample there were 147 children under 5 and 129 women between the ages of 15 to 49. This is a ratio of 708 children per 1,000 women. However, women who are going away from the area for a long time, as, for example, wives of men who are going with their husbands to some distant mine, possibly in South Africa or Southern Rhodesia, usually leave their youngest children with their married relatives. This means that the ratio quoted (708 per 1,000) is, in reality, an over-estimate of the true ratio. In order to arrive at a more accurate of the ratio we must consider the children actually born to women in the sample. Table VI classifies all children both dead and surviving born to women between the ages 15 to 49. From this table we deduce that there were 129 women between the ages 15 to 49 (for whom details were available), and among them they had 147 surviving children under the age of 5. This is a fertility ratio of 758 per 1,000 women. Table VII shows the fertility ratio for 21 women with their gross reproduction rate for the same period as the fertility ratio.

¹ It is more usual to refer the number of neurons between α_1 and α_2 , though usually the expression between α_1 and α_2 has been used. I have added the symbols α_1 or α_2 because at the early age of 4 months, and before it is apparent that the average age of onset of discharging is about 18 months

Table 1132). Day 2 illustrates the suitability of this mixture of fertilizers when third vegetation is not provided, see C. J. van Gucht, *Agrochimica (Amst., Holland)* 1958 108 3000 Co., New York (Gucht, p. 108).



AN ESTIMATE OF FERTILITY IN SOME YAO HAMLETS IN
Tama VI. Live-born Children, Aborts or Dead at Time of Survey. Mothers aged 15 to 39

Age of mother at time of survey	Number	Aborts	Number of years elapsed since birth of child										Total
			0-1	1-2	2-3	3-4	4-5	5-6	6-7	7-8	8-9	9-10	
15-19	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
20-24	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
25-29	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
30-34	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
35-39	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
40-44	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
45-49	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
50-54	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
55-59	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
60-64	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
65-69	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
70-74	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
75-79	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
80-84	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
85-89	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
90-94	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
95-99	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	10	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

* Includes one woman whose children were not in the hamlet at the time of survey and who was not in the hamlet.

Tama VII. Fertility Rates and Gross Reproduction Rates for Eighteen Countries*

Country	Year	Fertility rate	G.R.R.
Algeria	1955	2.1	1.1
Argentina	1955	2.1	1.1
Australia	1955	2.1	1.1
Austria	1955	2.1	1.1
Belgium	1955	2.1	1.1
Brazil	1955	2.1	1.1
Canada	1955	2.1	1.1
France	1955	2.1	1.1
Germany	1955	2.1	1.1
Greece	1955	2.1	1.1
India	1955	2.1	1.1
Italy	1955	2.1	1.1
Japan	1955	2.1	1.1
Sweden	1955	2.1	1.1
Switzerland	1955	2.1	1.1
U.S.S.R.	1955	2.1	1.1
U.S.A.	1955	2.1	1.1
U.K.	1955	2.1	1.1
Yugoslavia	1955	2.1	1.1

* Data for 1955 of United Nations Statistical Yearbook. Only those countries which showed gross reproduction rates less than one are listed in this table. The rest of the world is grouped as "rest of world".

* Data for 1955 of United Nations Statistical Yearbook.

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but was to a rough in 1932-4 and then beginning to rise again. However, with a 12.3% sample as small as this one, and since we are relying on memory for most of this information, it would be unwise to accept this as significant. These tables have to have been combined into three tables each covering one ten year period from 1917 to 1946. These are shown in Table IX.

Table IX. Average Gross Reproduction rate in Ten year Periods from 1917 to 1946

Age of women	1917-26			1927-36			1937-46		
	No. of women	No. of liveborn female	Average gross reproduction rate	No. of women	No. of liveborn female	Average gross reproduction rate	No. of women	No. of liveborn female	Average gross reproduction rate
15-19	40	0	0.000	48	0	0.000	14	1	0.071
20-24	112	12	0.107	117	10	0.085	100	11	0.110
25-29	146	17	0.116	141	16	0.113	107	16	0.149
30-34	146	28	0.192	131	22	0.168	117	26	0.222
35-39	117	27	0.231	109	22	0.202	101	26	0.257
40-44	98	12	0.122	79	6	0.076	111	16	0.144
45-49	98	12	0.122	79	6	0.076	111	16	0.144
50-54	98	12	0.122	79	6	0.076	111	16	0.144
55-59	98	12	0.122	79	6	0.076	111	16	0.144
60-64	98	12	0.122	79	6	0.076	111	16	0.144
65-69	98	12	0.122	79	6	0.076	111	16	0.144
70-74	98	12	0.122	79	6	0.076	111	16	0.144
75-79	98	12	0.122	79	6	0.076	111	16	0.144
80-84	98	12	0.122	79	6	0.076	111	16	0.144
85-89	98	12	0.122	79	6	0.076	111	16	0.144
90-94	98	12	0.122	79	6	0.076	111	16	0.144
95-99	98	12	0.122	79	6	0.076	111	16	0.144
Totals			0.122			0.122			0.122
G.R.R.	0.122			0.122			0.122		

* This does not mean that these women replace the size of the sample. This is an average rate and some women have been counted more than once.

† These rates are higher than might be expected. Their accuracy is to be as good as possible, but they are based on a small sample, and the population probably lies in the middle of the sample.

The obvious deficiency in this set of data is that the women who died are not included, and since many more of the 1917-26 cohort (i.e. those women who were in the child bearing age in that period) have died than, say, for the 1937-46 period, the rates calculated for earlier periods become more and more unreliable. These women

Table X. Average Gross Reproduction rate per Ten year Period 1917-46

Age group	1917-26			1927-36			1937-46		
	Female	Male	Rate	Female	Male	Rate	Female	Male	Rate
15-19	40	0	0.000	48	0	0.000	14	1	0.071
20-24	112	12	0.107	117	10	0.085	100	11	0.110
25-29	146	17	0.116	141	16	0.113	107	16	0.149
30-34	146	28	0.192	131	22	0.168	117	26	0.222
35-39	117	27	0.231	109	22	0.202	101	26	0.257
40-44	98	12	0.122	79	6	0.076	111	16	0.144
45-49	98	12	0.122	79	6	0.076	111	16	0.144
50-54	98	12	0.122	79	6	0.076	111	16	0.144
55-59	98	12	0.122	79	6	0.076	111	16	0.144
60-64	98	12	0.122	79	6	0.076	111	16	0.144
65-69	98	12	0.122	79	6	0.076	111	16	0.144
70-74	98	12	0.122	79	6	0.076	111	16	0.144
75-79	98	12	0.122	79	6	0.076	111	16	0.144
80-84	98	12	0.122	79	6	0.076	111	16	0.144
85-89	98	12	0.122	79	6	0.076	111	16	0.144
90-94	98	12	0.122	79	6	0.076	111	16	0.144
95-99	98	12	0.122	79	6	0.076	111	16	0.144
Totals			0.122			0.122			0.122
G.R.R.	0.122			0.122			0.122		

as way of circumventing this difficulty for the earlier periods, but some correction for this may be included in the 1917-26 rates. All those women who were in the child bearing age when they died between 1917 and 1946 were estimated and

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included in the material that was prepared for Table IX. In this way it was possible to construct Table X which shows a close approximation as we can get to the gross reproduction rate from the material on hand.

Since the exact date of death was unknown (i.e. day and month) it was assumed that at death the women were at the mid-point of the age-group. Therefore the figure 196.7 in Table X represents, for example, 197 women who passed through one particular year and 1 woman who died in that year.

The crude rates for the two five-year periods 1937-41 and 1942-4 are not greatly different from those calculated without taking account of the women who died. The average gross reproduction rate over the ten-year period 1937-46 falls within the limits of expected gross reproduction rate as calculated from the fertility rate (1.47 to 1.93 ; see p. 302), and is not widely different from the estimate derived from women who have passed child-bearing (1.71 ; see p. 304).

164 (b) General Conclusions about the Gross Reproduction rate

In general we may observe that from the material on hand the gross reproduction rate for this sample has always been high. This is confirmed since, first, the number of live-born females born to women over the age of 20 is high (1.71); second, the lowest rate calculated for the past is 1.23 for 1932-4, though not too much reliance should be placed on the validity of this; and third, the rate calculated for the last five years which, since mortality of dead children would still be high, is probably quite accurate, is 1.47 .

With a sample as small as the one used in this survey a certain amount of variability is to be expected. Also since all ages are merely estimations based on the memory of informants, one can only expect approximations over fairly long periods of time. For this reason it is probably safer to use the five-year average 1942-4 as an indicator of the present gross reproduction rate, or even the ten-year average 1937-46. In this case, we may estimate the present gross reproduction rate at about 1.4 or 1.5.

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Of course, no mortality statistics for the African population are available. Hence it is necessary to construct a crude birth survival table in order to arrive at some estimate of the net reproduction rate. This is set out in Table XI. In this table I have assumed that the mean age of each five-year group is 3 years older than the lowest age in that group, i.e. the mean age of the 25-9 age-group is 34. It would have been more consistent to take the mean to be 27.5, but since the ages at death are not accurately known, there would little point in doing this.

The problem then becomes: what proportion of girls born to mothers of average age of 20 (for example), i.e. in the 25-9 year age-group, will themselves survive to be of 20 years of age?

In order to arrive at this proportion all the girls born between 1934 and 1940 who were recorded on family return forms were abstracted, i.e. 121. Of these 41 died before reaching the age of 2, so that we can assume that 80 per cent survived to the age of 2 and over. For the mortality of the children between 2 and 8, there have been between 1939 and 1946 were considered. There were 112 of these, but 14 died before reaching the age of 2. Hence we consider only 98 (as recorded in column 11

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of Table XI) as surviving to the age of 4 and beyond. Of these, 2 died before 1945 they turned 8 (see column v) which indicates a survival of 98 per cent. for this period. 16.5
It will be remembered that 89 per cent. of all girls born alive survived to be 4 years old, and now we know that 98 per cent. of these lived to be 8 years old. Hence,

TABLE XI. Survival Table: Females

Year of birth of female	Age groups through which female has to pass to reach 8 years of age (if died)	No. of female surviving age group	No. of female who died before passing out of age group	No. of female who survived through age group	Per cent. of female who survived age group	Survived rate	Survived ratio
i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	vii	viii
1900-01	1 and under	121	26	121	89	89	98
1901-02	2 and 3	98	1	97	98	87	88
1902-03	3 and 4	74	1	73	98	81	84
1903-04	4 and 5	58	1	57	98	71	73
1904-05	5 and 6	46	0	46	100	61	61
1905-06	6 and 7	38	0	38	100	51	51
1906-07	7 and 8	28	1	27	96	41	41
1907-08	8 and 9	11	1	10	90	31	31
1908-09	9 and 10	11	1	10	90	21	21
1909-10	10 and 11	11	1	10	90	11	11

we can say that $89 \times 98 = 87$ per cent. of all children survive to be 8 years old (see column vii of Table XI). These points were then plotted and the curve smoothed by hand. Smoothed values for the mean ages, i.e. for 17.5, 12.5, 8.0, were then read off and are recorded in column viii of Table XI. These smoothed values represent the survival-rate over the last 13 years and may now be applied to the gross reproduction rate for roughly the same period, i.e. for the period 1937-46 in Table IX. (16.5)
This is done in Table XII. (16.5)

TABLE XII. Net Reproduction rate: Average 1937-46

Age group	Specific fertility rate	Survived rate	Survived fertility rate
i	ii	iii	iv
15-16	0.06	0.89	0.053
17-18	0.02	0.87	0.017
19-20	0.04	0.81	0.032
21-22	0.06	0.71	0.042
23-24	0.07	0.61	0.042
25-26	0.07	0.51	0.035
27-28	0.06	0.41	0.024
29-30	0.05	0.31	0.015
31-32	0.04	0.21	0.008
Net reproduction rate			0.49

The sum of column iv in Table XII (0.49) is the net reproduction rate. This figure is relatively high, and we may look for the error in the possibility that some females who died are not recorded so that the mortality rate is underestimated. However, there seems to be sufficient evidence to conclude that the replacement rate is high.

RELATIONSHIPS AMONG THE WAYA.

By HENRY SANDERSON,

Medical Officer, Egyptian Expedition.

Introductory.—Various writers have attempted to give English equivalents to the Yao terms denoting relationship, or have alluded to the outstanding features of the system, but I am not aware that anybody has hitherto worked out the whole system. 121

Although it is very similar to other classificatory systems, I feel that a description of it may not be quite valuable, more especially on account of the evolutionary changes that are taking place.

The Waya are a Bantu tribe, numerous but not numerous, which until the middle of the last century inhabited that part of Central Africa lying to the East of Lake Nyasa, particularly in the valleys of the Limpopo and Save rivers. Up to that time the tribe had not extended far from the area indicated except perhaps in a northerly direction, but owing to constant incursions war in their own territory the Yao then invaded and conquered a large part of the neighbouring territories, especially to the north, in what is now called Nyasaland. 131

I have said that the Waya are not tribal, and that statement is correct at the present time. Opinions differ, however, as to how recent their loss of tribalism is; though their tribalistic reminiscences are generally regarded as tribal, even there, in my opinion, the evidence is not conclusive, and there remains no suspicion of tribalism outside their own circles. 141

It should be mentioned that tribalism is much more prevalent among the Yao than among their neighbours, but its influence is not yet so deep-rooted as greatly to obscure the pure tribal customs, except to a certain extent among the living generation. 151

To facilitate description the relationships are given in tribal form, the relationship being given with reference to one man or woman. 161

In Table I, Column 1 describes the relationship, Column 2 gives either the nearest equivalent of the Yao term, or, if none, the actual term. Columns 3-6 give the various relations of the person named in Column 1, as they would be named by the man or woman under consideration. 171

For example, the brother of (a)'s father (Column 1) is regarded as (a)'s father (Column 2), the wife of (a)'s father's brother is (a)'s aunts (Column 3), their child is his "brother" or "sister" (Column 4), and so on (see Table I). 181